



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

42

10(b)

Harvard College Library



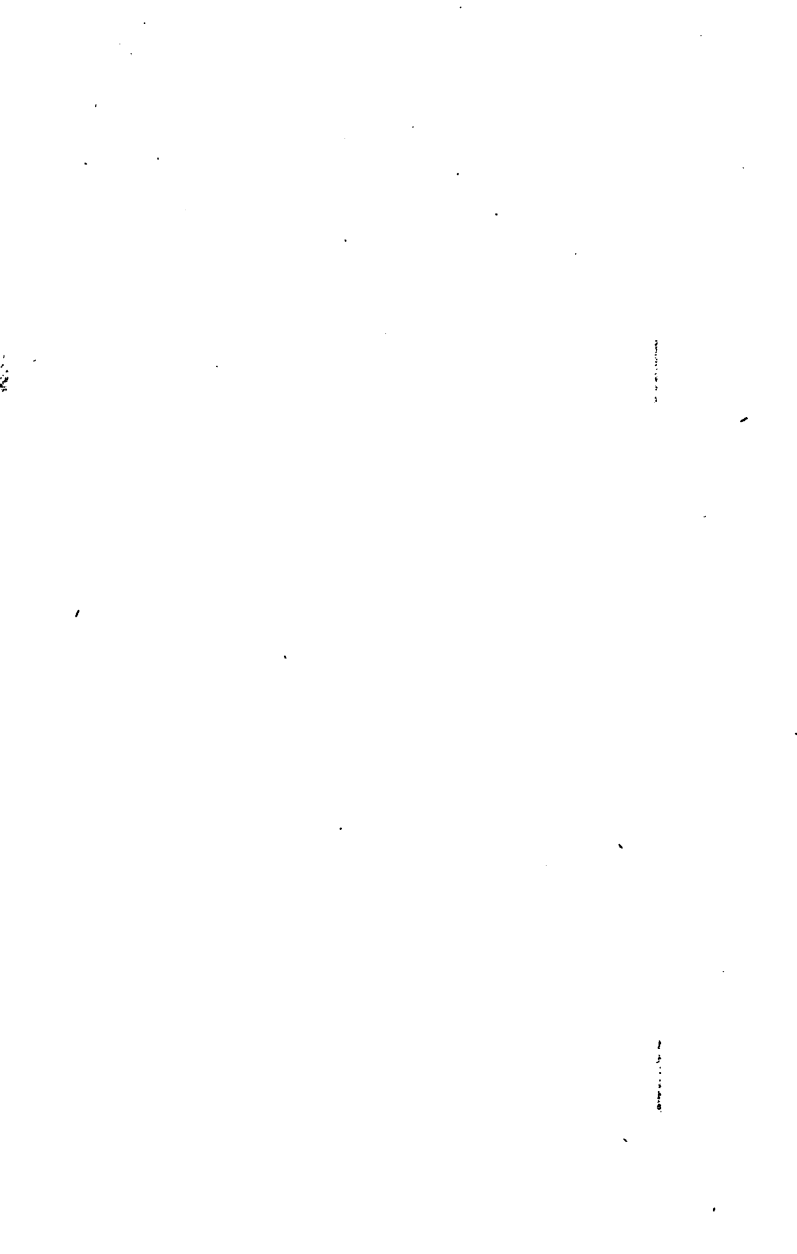
FROM THE LIBRARY OF
FRANKLIN HAVEN
OF BOSTON
AND OF
FRANKLIN HAVEN, JR.
(Class of 1857)

GIFT OF
MARY E. HAVEN
July 2, 1914













THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
OLD ENGLISH PROSE WRITERS.

VOL. VI.
WALTON'S LIVES.



"No calling left, no duty broke."

BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY.
CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXII.

~~HWF 5.22~~

11442.7.20

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

GIFT OF

MARY E. HARRIS

JULY 2, 1914.

Out of the olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this newe corn fro yere to yere
And out of olde bookes, in goode faithe,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.
CHAUCER.

CAMBRIDGE:
E. W. METCALF AND COMPANY,
Printers to the University.

THE
LIVES
OF
DONNE, WOTTON, HOOKER, HERBERT,
AND SANDERSON.

BY IZAAK WALTON.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS WRITINGS.

—
VOL. II.



BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY.
CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXII.

—“Dr. Johnson talked of IZAAK WALTON's Lives,
which was one of his favorite books.”

BOSWELL.

THE LIFE
OF
MR. RICHARD HOOKER,
THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS
OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.



TO HIS VERY WORTHY FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS WRITING AND PUBLISHING THE LIFE OF THE
VENERABLE AND JUDICIOUS

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

I.

HAIL, sacred mother ! British Church, all hail !
From whose fruitful loins have sprung
Of pious sons so great a throng
That Heaven t' oppose their force, of strength did
fail,
And let the mighty conquerors o'er Almighty arms
prevail ;
How art thou changed from what thou wert a late !
When destitute and quite forlorn,
And scarce a child of thousands with thee left to
mourn,
Thy veil all rent, and all thy garments torn,
With tears thou didst bewail thine own and children's
fate.

Too much alas ! thou didst resemble then
Sion, thy pattern, — Sion in ashes laid,
Despised, forsaken, and betrayed ;
Sion thou dost resemble once again,
And, raised like her, the glory of the world art
made.
Threnes only to thee could that time belong,
But now thou art the lofty subject of my song.

II.

Begin, my verse, and where the doleful mother
sat
(As it in vision was to Esdras shown)
Lamenting, with the rest, her dearest son,
Bless'd Charles, who his forefathers has outgone,
And to the royal joined the martyr's brighter
crown,
Let a new city rise with beauteous state,
And beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the
gate !
Lo ! how the sacred fabric up does rise !
The architects so skilful all,
So grave, so humble, and so wise :
The axe's and the hammer's noise
Is drowned in silence or in numbers musical ;
'T is up, and at the altar stand
The reverend fathers as of old,
With harps and incense in their hand.
Nor let the pious service grow or stiff or cold ;

Th' inferior priests, the while,
 To praise continually employed or pray,
 Need not the weary hours beguile,
 Enough 's the single duty of each day.
 Thou thyself, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe may'st
 play,
 And though but lately entered there,
 So gracious those thou honor'st all appear,
 So ready and attent to hear,
 An easy part, proportioned to thy skill, may'st bear

III.

But where, alas? where wilt thou fix thy choice?
 The subjects are so noble all,
 So great their beauties and thy art so small,
 They 'll judge, I fear, themselves disparaged by thy
 voice:
 Yet try, and since thou canst not take
 A name so despicably low,
 But 't will exceed what thou canst do,
 Though thy whole mite thou away at once shouldst
 throw,
 Thy poverty a virtue make:
 And, that thou may'st immortal live,
 (Since immortality thou canst not give)
 From one who has enough to spare be ambitious to
 receive.
 Of reverend and judicious Hooker sing;
 Hooker does to the church belong,
 The church and Hooker claim thy song,
 And inexhausted riches to thy verse will bring;

So far beyond itself will make it grow,
That life, his gift to thee, thou shalt again on him
bestow.

IV.

How great, bless'd soul, must needs thy glories be !
Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair !
Who mad'st the church thy chiefest care ;
This church which owes so much to thee,
That all her sons are studious of thy memory.
'T was a bold work the captived to redeem,
And not so only, but th' oppressed to raise
(Our aged mother) to that due esteem
She had and merited in her younger days,
When primitive zeal and piety
Were all her laws and policy,
And decent worship kept the mean
Its too wide stretched extremes between,
The rudely scrupulous and extravagantly vain —
This was the work of Hooker's pen ;
With judgment, candor, and such learning
writ,
Matter and words so exactly fit
That were it to be done again
Expected 't would be as its answer hitherto has
been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelsea, song ; there tell thy master's friend
The church is Hooker's debtor, — Hooker his ;
And strange 't would be, if he should glory miss
For whom two such most powerfully contend :

Bid him cheer up, the day 's his own,
 And he shall never die,
 Who, after seventy 's past and gone,
 Can all th' assaults of age defy;
 Is master still of so much youthful heat,
 A child so perfect and so sprightly to beget.

SAM. WOODFORD.

BENSTEAD HANTS, }
 March 10, 1669-70. }



TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written ; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too lit-

the faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify : for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions, yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader ; I shall rather leave him at liberty. But if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for ; and by this means my weak, but faithful endeavours may become a better monument, and, in some degree, more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labors, I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both ; and sometimes wonder more at myself that I have been persuaded to it ; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my apology ; to which I refer him.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write the Life of Richard Hooker, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness ; foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labor to inquire, consider, research, and determine, what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death (now sixty-four years past), but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth ; and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures ; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I consider the age in which I live) ; and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known

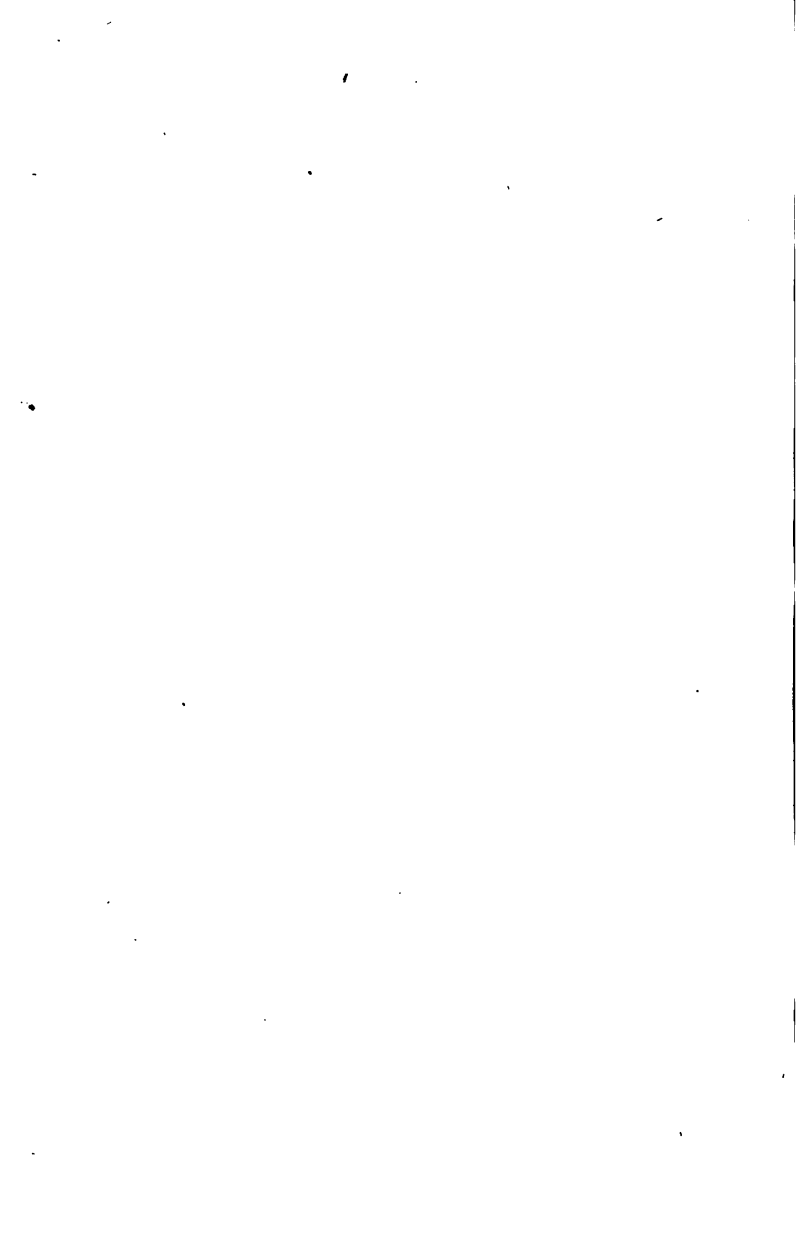
unto him some reasons, which, I myself would now fain believe, do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking. And if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity ; and this is all I can probably hope for. My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God), grand-nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name ; a family of noted prudence and resolution. With him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship. One of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse ; as also their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Bourne, near Canterbury ; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a great part of their edu-

cation with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them ; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection for them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him ; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the reverend Doctor Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh ; and with Doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham ; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton College ; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him ; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.



THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD HOOKER.

It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter; a city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others memorable for their valor and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption, one thousand five hundred fifty and three; and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testi-

mony, and that Nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honorable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of cholera; and yet his motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but a gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy, he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered?" "Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet, serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward, blessed, divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to

continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich unele, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man, what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is caught in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favor,

both with God and man ; which, with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honored in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar), was very solicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following; which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned

John Jewel (after Bishop of Salisbury) having been in the first of this queen's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi College in Oxford (of which he was a fellow), for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward the Sixth ; and he, having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable ; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth ; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born ; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury ; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it, John Hooker gave him a visit at Salisbury,

“and besought him, for charity’s sake, to look favorably upon a poor nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a scholar ; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning ; and that the bishop would, therefore, become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman ; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes.” And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place ; which was done accordingly : and then, after some questions and observations of the boy’s learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy’s parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment ; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was Anno 1567, he was, by the bishop, appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi College ; which he did ; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk’s place in that College ; which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with

the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian, and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and pray that he "might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; whom, he would often say, he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her sake, as for his own."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money or their

humility made it so : but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table ; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends. And at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money ; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him ; and at Richard's return the bishop said to him, " Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease ;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, " Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse ; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats, to bear your charges to Exeter ; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the College : and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas ! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer ; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, " Whether his last ejaculations or his soul did first enter into heaven ? "

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear : of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron ; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, that he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer ; for about that time the following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation ; where, for many years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany ; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as time did not blot out, but lasted till the

death of Bishop Jewel, which was in 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was then almost of the same age. For the bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the University; and had, by a constant, unwearyed diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted study, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his

industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects ; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer : of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers ; and that his behaviour there was such as showed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to ; giving all outward testimonies, that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God ; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires ; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet, gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience ; never heard to utter an uncomely word : and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that, at other times and in other companies,

took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his College; and thus this good man continued till death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was chosen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonshire; out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first famous by his learned "Apology for the Church of England," and his "Defence of it against Harding." The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Roman persuasion, about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third for his most ex-

cellent "Exposition of the Creed," and for his other treatises ; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all.

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts ; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of noted learning, being then vice-chancellor, and the act following, he was completed Master, which was Anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year vice-chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savile of Merton College, then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savile, that was after Sir Henry Savile, warden of Merton College, and provost of Eton : he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savile that translated and enlightened the "History of Cornelius Tacitus," with a most excellent comment ; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek ; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savile that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and a most familiar friend to our Richard Hooker ; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was chosen fellow of the College: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made presidents of his College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "*Speculum Europæ*" as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, the Lord Tottenes, Fynes Morrison, and others.

"This Cranmer, whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hope, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, where he continued master of arts for

many years before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return, he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison; after whose fall he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killigrew in his ambassage into France; and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained, until in a battle against the rebels near Charlinford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life and the great hopes that were conceived of him."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth and in a university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. In this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and, as the holy prophet saith, so "they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." By which means they improved it to such a degree of amity as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship ; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns and leave Mr. Hooker to his college : where he was daily more assiduous in his studies, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen ; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil ; and with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture ; for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written ; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, "The Scripture was not writ to beget pride and disputations, and opposition to government ; but moderation, and charity, and humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind ; of which no good man did ever repent himself upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to

the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years; about which time he entered into sacred orders, and was made both deacon and priest; and not long after, in obedience to the College statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford, or at St. Paul's Cross, London; and the last fell to his allotment.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamite's house; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometimes a draper of good note in Watling-street; upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavor; for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than

against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no easier a horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not;) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days' quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon. But a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mistress Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day; which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon; which was, that "in God there were two wills, an antecedent, and a consequent will: his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and has been since by Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honor and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but

it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occasional answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that "he was a man of a tender constitution;" and, "that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he, not considering that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, because he meant none, did give her such power as Eleazar was trusted with, when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was

her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion ; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house : so that he had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but rather to say with the holy prophet, "Woe is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar !"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at. But let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, "There is a wheel within a wheel ;" a secret, sacred wheel of Providence (especially in marriages), guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the swift," nor "bread to the wise," nor good wives to good men. And he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to such reasons) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, and (as some think) to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was ; and let the reader cease to wonder, for affliction is a divine diet ; which though it be displeasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college ; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy

world ; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage ; which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, (not far from Ailsbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln ;) to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it) the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) “ in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering ; ” yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this mean condition he continued about a year ; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Drayton to see their tutor ; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace), he being then tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field ; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his servant was then gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company ; which was presently denied them, for Richard was called to rock the cradle ; and their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but next morning, which was time

enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition : and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, " Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage ; and more sorry your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, " My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me ; but labor, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York), with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence ; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in

the year 1585, Mr. Alvy, Master of the Temple, died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the judges, the reader, and benchers of that society, he there met with a condolment for the death of Father Alvy, a high commendation of his saint-like life and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Archbishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place; which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might be free from noise (so he expressed the desire of his

heart), and eat that bread, which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life made Master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted, rather than desired: and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness; that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and labored for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises; for this he always thirsted; and yet this was denied him. For his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favor and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and

the sharp persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men ; and these begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begot an earnest desire of a settlement in the church and state ; believing there was no other way to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labors. But time, and peace, and plenty begot self-ends ; and those begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progress of her reign ; and thus it continued too long : for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more ; neglecting to pay that obedience to government and perform those vows to God, which they made in their days of adversities and fears : so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs. They may for distinction be called

the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists, (of which there were many sorts), and the passive, peaceable Protestant. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome ; the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles both there and within the bosom of our own nation ; the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil ; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state ; because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists ; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war ; a war which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were possessed of a high degree of spiritual wickedness ; I mean with

an innate, restless, radical pride and malice; I mean not those lesser sins which are more visible and more properly carnal, and sins against a man's self, as gluttony, and drunkenness, and the like (from which, good Lord, deliver us); but sins of a higher nature, because more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace; and more like the devil (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil); those wickednesses of malice and revenge, and opposition, and a complacence in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and greater sins, though many will not believe it); men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that labored and joyed to speak evil of government, and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion); whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were errors; and at last became so restless and so hardened in their opinions, that like those who perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these

died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses; of which Coppinger and Hacket, and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men did in their secret conventicles covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up a church government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state; but especially against the bishops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as St. Peter observes there were in his time, "some that wrested the Scripture to their own destruction:" So by these men, and this means, many came to believe the bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructors of God's discipline; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the "Revelation of St. John," that "Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword," which they were very ready to take into

their hands. So that those very men that began with tender, meek petitions proceeded to print public admonitions; and then to satirical remonstrances; and at last (having like David numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause) they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favor with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience, whom he used as a sacrilegious snare to further his design; which was by their means to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself; which avaricious desire had so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almost flattered him into present possession of Lambeth House.

And to these strange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident; for

there they declared her an Atheist, and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; no, nor for treason against their own king, if spoken in the pulpit; showing at last such a disobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the king their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state; and these vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, "That the common people of England were

wiser than the wisest of his nation ; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church government ; then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the most learned colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion ; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, " that those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men ; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and had so often and so highly opposed the blessed motions of the blessed spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe ; into a belief which is

repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but these have sinned themselves into a belief, that there is no God; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, "that they should be like the beasts that perish;" and in wicked company (which is the Atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority; — in this extremity, fear, and danger of

the church and state, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blessed in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left his true character; "That he was a man of a reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper; a man of such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue."

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter-House; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her chaplain,

and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favor, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not an usual favor) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth of her reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and, in all his employments, was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words, in his *Annals*), "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labors to the good of his church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal (his immediate predecessor), the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief

assistant the Earl of Leicester ; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles.

With these he was to encounter ; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favor, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa (" Agrippa, believest thou ? I know thou believest "), he wrought himself into so great a degree of favor with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favors to him were such, that she called him her little black husband, and called his servants her servants ; and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor, of which she gave many fair testimonies ; and of which one was, " that she would never eat flesh in Lent, without obtaining a license from her little black husband ; " and would often say, " she pitied him because she trusted him, and had eased herself by laying

the burthen of all her clergy cares upon his shoulders, which, she was certain, he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and her care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an act or acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of church lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown; and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the good bishop having by his interest with her Majesty put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty (for he found her alone), and spake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpose:—

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the church's

safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger. And though you and myself are born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that you will but first consider, and then you will believe that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege: for if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ; and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, 'he judged no man'; and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the church's rights, he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And consider, that it was St. Paul

that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet, 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?' supposing, I think, sacrilege to be the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and Helena his mother, that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God and to his church much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not, but gave them an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them. God prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse.

“ And to make you that are trusted with their preservation the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you, forget not that, besides these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as human reason and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them, by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at

their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, to maintain the church lands, and the rights belonging to it; and this testified openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta. And now what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your Majesty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently violated, I know not.

“And therefore, good Madam, let not the late lord’s exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age. Let particular men suffer for their particular errors; but let God and his church have their right. And though I pretend not to prophesy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; that church land, added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both; or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a

part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve it.

“And consider, that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands; yet dispose of them for Jesus' sake as the donors intended. Let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; and put a stop, I beseech you, to the approaching ruins of God's church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for kings must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favor; and the Lord still continue you in his.”

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, her future care to preserve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may

appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this, there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many, and those powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years; in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favor toward all men that opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favor, that he might preserve the remaining church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honor and power with which she trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles. He eased her of all her church cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; to be

the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed ; to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was her chief mourner at her sad funeral ; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker ; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility ; but this of both. He built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women ; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humbled, that he called them brothers and sisters : and whenever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth (which was very often), he would usually the next day show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital ; at which time you may believe there was joy-at the table.

And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars ; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, " The bishop had published many learned books ; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity."

This good bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell sick at Lambeth ; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak ; and after some short discourse, the King assured him, " he had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, " *Pro ecclesia Dei ! Pro ecclesia Dei !*" which were the last words he ever spake ; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months ; and in which time you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience ; but his motto was, "*Vincit qui patitur ;*" that is, " He conquers that en-

dures." And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same College, of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was bishop, was Master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent, long before the Earl's death (which was 1588) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of the party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to affect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, (especially that called the "Admonition to the Parliament"), which last he caused to be printed; to which the Doctor made an answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Doctor having rejoined to his reply (however Mr. Cartwright would not be satisfied), he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason.

After some years the Doctor being preferred to the see, first of Worcester, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his share of trouble and imprisonment (for setting up new presbyteries in divers places against the established order), having received from the Archbishop many personal favors, retired himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became master of an hospital, and lived quietly and grew rich ; and where the Archbishop gave him a license to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation : and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Archbishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favorite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself ; and of which, I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this, that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at rest, and had been a great while, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men that by com-

pany and clamors became possessed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting, "that a Papist cannot be saved;" in-somuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only "Martin Mar-prelate," but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these titles, "An Almond for a Parrot;" "A Fig for my Godson;" "Come crack me this Nut," and the like; so that his merry wit made such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of the younger gentlemen of that society, and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time ; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbyters in Antwerp, and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation : for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland ; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in this design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his endeavours to be Master of it ; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved some occasion of his opposition of Mr. Hooker's sermons publicly in the pulpit ; many of which were concerning the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of this church : and Mr. Hooker again publicly justified his doctrine against the other's exceptions ; insomuch, that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did

they. For, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "the forenoon sermons speak Canterbury, and the afternoon's Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time, till the oppositions became so high, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a positive prohibition; against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majesty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many assisting powerful friends. But they were not able to prevail with or against the archbishop, whom the Queen had entrusted with all church power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so magnified by them and many others, as never to be answered: so that intending the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an answer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an

answer, to have in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship ; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented (all or most of which I have seen written), would prove at least tedious; and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the assurance of what we believe by the word of God is not to us so certain, as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following :

"First: I taught that the things which God promises in his word are not surer to us than that we touch, handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? for we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For ex-

ample, how is it that many men looking upon the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the same promise have not all the same fullness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense can be no surer of it than they are; whenas the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to labor, strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence." In which, having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it; "Comfortable," he says, "as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable

assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favor such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are. Do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this but from a secret love and liking, that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be, which they show they love, when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons he gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he, in one of his sermons, had declared, "That he doubted not but that God was merciful to save many of our forefathers living hereto-

fore in Popish superstition, forasmuch as they sinned ignorantly ;” and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth :

But first (because Travers’s argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrew the foundation of faith) he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown ; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness : and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow) : “ That, the way, of nature ; this, the way of grace : the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men’s works ; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them ; that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift, presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification ; their justification,

not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in Him, for whose sake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation ; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children ; their election, a mediator in whom to be elect ; this mediation, inexplicable mercy ; this mercy supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator."

And he also declareth, "there is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ ; no effectual, but his mercy ;" and says also, "we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless," and for this he was accused, "considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves : " because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, "Such men are damned ;

there is for them no salvation?" St. Austin says, "Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo." And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a pope or a cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, "Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins!" shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, "You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort; you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious sophister, who gathered the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, "The admittance of merit, in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibil-

ity of salvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow) :

" What though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith? although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the spirit? although they have all other tokens of God's children in them? although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear, arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not, to remove it? Let me die," says Mr. Hooker, " if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or cardinal in such a case utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men, even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error :

were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they prove useful to my reader; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him, as, "that he prayed before, and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed, and when he received the sacrament; and," says Mr. Hooker in his defence, "other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons; to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. Doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal; then

obedience and truth had kissed each other ; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blest like "Jerusalem, that is at unity with itself;" but that can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people with a belief, "that schism is a sin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey."

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker were the cause of his transcribing several of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; of his "Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication;" and of his most learned and useful "Discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works;" and, by their transcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings have been; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his "Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation. But it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that

society, by the great reason, and as great meekness of this humble man. For though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate and sober treatise on the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to show such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-laborer Philemon; than which none was ever more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in

all wise men's eyes except his own ; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries ; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground ; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love ; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall ; let those, who knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple ; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed ; and therefore solicited the archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose : " My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage ; but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place ; and indeed God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr. Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man ; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions ; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far

complied with, as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of ecclesiastical polity ; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the church's peace ; and, so as not to provoke your adversary Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not mine enemy), God knows this to be my meaning. To which end I have searched many books, and spent many thoughtful hours ; and, I hope, not in vain ; for I write to reasonable men. But, my Lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet country parsonage, where I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy ; a place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all flesh must at the last great day give to the God of all spirits.

“ This is my design ; and, as these are the desires of my heart, so they shall, by God's assistance, be the constant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore, if your

Grace can think me and my poor labors worthy such a favor, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun ; which is a blessing I cannot hope for in this place."

About the time of this request to the bishop, the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The bishop of Sarum is patron of it ; but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the death of Bishop Pierce, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it), the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to it during the time of this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted (July 17) to be a minor prebendary of Salisbury, the corps to it being Netherhavin, about ten miles from that city ; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," and these were entered into the register-book in Stationer's Hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws

and orders ecclesiastical in the church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell; and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it, the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's-Bourne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift; but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was "pro eâ vice" in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Bourne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Bourne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, Anno 1594. Next I am to tell, that at the end of these four books, there is printed this advertisement to the reader : — “ I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars. In the mean time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath.”

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, Anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed,) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the Reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and

therefore caused them to be sent for ; and after reading of them boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth), " that though he had lately said, he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author ; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin ; for a poor obscure English priest had wrote four such books of laws and church polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him : " and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin ; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book ; at the conclusion of which, the pope spake to this purpose : " There is no learning that this man hath not searched into ; nothing too hard for his understanding. This man indeed deserves the name of an author ; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books ; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend

Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of church polity ; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow ; to which the king replied, “ And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction. Indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church music, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men : and, I observe, there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language ; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason ; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers, and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten ; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker’s book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colors, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author.” And it is so truly true, that the king thought what he spake ; that, as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hook-

er with reverence ; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of Learned, or Judicious, or Reverend, or Venerable Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden, in his "Annals of Elizabeth," mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that, for the honor of this and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it ; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not), that, since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper ; so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker ; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much ; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Bourne ; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial ; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers ; enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know ; and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible ; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others ; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three ; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops' Superiority above the Presbytery ; a second against Sacrilege ; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes ; the last being occa-

sioned by Gretzerus, the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls Divine, Human, and Satanical); this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of "Ecclesiastical Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bishop's-Bourne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increas-

ing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Bourne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John the Baptist, "What went they out to see! a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour; God and nature blessed him with so

blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose a wife for him.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for showing Mr. Hooker's grave-place and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness: in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out,

that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the present parson of Bourne was sequestered (you may guess why), and a Genevan minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted if his good master, Mr. Hooker, had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva ; to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table for them to sit and eat and drink ; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder : but the minister bade him "cease wondering and lock the church door." To whom he replied, "Pray, take you the keys and lock me out, I will never come more into this church ; for all men will say my Master Hooker was a good man and a good scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days : " and report says, the old man went presently home and died ; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechize after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal and a humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to show reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety: studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never laboring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions to amuse his hearers and get glory to himself, but glory only to God. Which intencion, he would often say, "was as discernible in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty."

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the last ; saying often, " that the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer ; and did usually, every Ember-week, take from the parish-clerk the key of the church door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours ; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation ; and most did so : in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations, to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people ; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness and mutual kindnesses and love ;

because "Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities."

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any way distressed, and would often visit them unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having, by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "He that lives in love lives in God; for God is love."

And to maintain this holy fire of love, constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their graces. This was his advice, and at his entrance or departure out of any

house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name ; insomuch that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him in all holiness and humility ; making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible ; yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men ; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour at Bourne ; thus as Enoch, so he, walked with God ; thus did he tread in the footsteps of primitive piety ; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders ; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies), and which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition ; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and

their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer ; and his name hath been told me ; but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity ; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months ; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer ; who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon : to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, " The Lord forgive them ; and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, ' Friends are born for the days of adversity,' and such you have proved to me : and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, ' Thus hath the Lord dealt with

me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.' And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me when I yet hanged on my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord ; for when false witnesses were risen up against me ; when shame was ready to cover my face ; when I was bowed down with a horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long ; when my nights were restless, and my sleeps broken with a fear worse than death ; when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth for the rivers of water ; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer ; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O blessed are they that put their trust in thee ; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrows, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction ; for with such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased ; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth ; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was

remarkable ; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation), Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, " Vengeance is mine : " and though this be said by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he labored to procure their pardon ; and when that was denied him, his reply was, " That, however, he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, " O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander ! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge."

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which he was never recovered ; for till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights ; but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable ; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life), " That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity ; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace ; " which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himself ; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and wrote. And now his guardian angel

seemed to foretell him, that his years were passed away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near ; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed ; of which he having notice, his question was, " Are my books and written papers safe ? " and being answered that they were, his reply was, " Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company ; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gayety and joy in his face ; but it lasted not long ; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible ; inso-much, that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him : yet, after some amendment, left him

at night, with a promise to return early the day following ; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse ; which gave the Doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts ; to which he replied, " That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven ; and oh ! that it might be so on earth ! " After which words, he said, " I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near : And though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and labored to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men ; yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it ? And, therefore, where I have failed, Lord, show mercy to me ; for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time ; I submit to it. Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done." With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber ; dangerous as to his recovery ; yet recover he did, but

it was to speak only these few words ; " Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions ; for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me ; and from which blessed assurance, I feel that inward joy which this world can neither give nor take from me." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him ; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep.

And here I draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of. In the mean time, bless, O Lord ! Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent desires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation, for these are praiseworthy ; these bring peace at the last ! And let the labors of his life, his most excellent writings, be blessed with what he designed when he undertook them : which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind. Amen, Amen.

APPENDIX
TO THE
LIFE OF RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and, I hope, my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument, set up at the charge of Sir William Coop-

er in Bourne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is said to be Anno 1603, but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th in Anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joan his wife his sole executrix; and that by his inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to £1092 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping it: of which will I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more, was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and both dead long since. Margaret, his youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Clark, bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow

in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding ; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable : and for his wife she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she stayed not a comely time to bewail her widowhood, nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage ; for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed Anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, Anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight ; but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question ; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whit-

gift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not or could not give any account; and I have been told, that about three months after the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth; and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Chark, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning, dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity; this Dr. Spencer (the three perfect books being lost) had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift, the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who

both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. A fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in Anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written.

“ And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked, blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them; and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces: no favor, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are: the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace, so, in the strength

of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and that, by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars !

J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ, and first printed, within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies ; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess, by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "that her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books ; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, Bishop of London ; and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and were to be found in several places, as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodley's library, in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the Bishop of Armagh's,

and in many others ; and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, being much disagreeing ; being, indeed, altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies or give authority to their corrupt designs ; and, for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called "*Clavi Trabales*," printed by Richard Hodgkinson, Anno 1661, that, in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written books, which were the supposed sixth, seventh, and eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of "*Ecclesiastical Polity*"; and that, in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's), there are so many omissions that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies ; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole ; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them :

"First, As there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable ; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment ; for, sith punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infi-

nately in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be, therefore, a well-spring ; it followeth, there is a supreme head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of preëminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

“ If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth ; if magistrates, they have their prince ; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear ; on earth they are not accountable to any.” — Here, says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books :

“ I will make oath if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did, a little before his death, affirm to me he had seen a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the king or supreme governors being accountable to the people ; this I will make oath that that good man attested to me.

FABIAN PHILIPS.”

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books ; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued), gave a strict charge near the time

of his death, or in his last will, that nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, "they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker, in the other five, that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself, but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's. And it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of

Dr. Spencer), of which this following letter may be a testimony ; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker ; and is therefore added.

CONCERNING
THE NEW CHURCH DISCIPLINE;
AN EXCELLENT LETTER,
WRITTEN BY MR. GEORGE CRANMER
TO
MR. RICHARD HOOKER,
FEBRUARY, MDXCVIII.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within a few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favorably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part favored of the disciplinary style ; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the bet-

ter form of government, but as not so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow. One man alone* there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to their defence; which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented. Wherein God hath made good unto him his own empress, "Vincit qui patitur;" for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honor above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to sway on the other side; the learned have weighed it, and found it light: wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first; but afterward, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of a house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn

* Archbishop Whitgift.

at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the forefront of this reformed house ; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master-workmen and chief builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences ; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then established. This was peaceable ; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them volumes were published in English, in Latin : yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority ; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin : in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas T. C. and others his great masters had

always before set out the discipline as a Queen, and as the daughter of God, he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the stage. 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and descried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact: Certain prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely that his holy saints, the favorers and fathers of the discipline, should

be enlarged, and delivered from persecution ; and, seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means ; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, " Viri fratres, quid agimus ? " whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter ; " Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down : such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear what stirring affections the discipline is likely to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds. Now if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates were they before their entering into this frantic passion ? Whose sermons did they frequent ? Whom did they admire ? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require ? and, when they were in, whose approbation ? Whom advertised they of their purpose ? Whose assistance by prayers did they request ? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge ; for they reprov'd and condemned it. How ?

did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they rather content to stand aloof and see the end of it, and loath to quench the spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them. For if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand:

1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us.
2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will follow. For if, above all things, men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men, so separated from the false and

counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church ; not to ours ; to the Popish much less ; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For, wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation ; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

Again (but this reason perhaps is weak), every true church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ ; the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted. Ergo.

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church : by which term "essentially," they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If, therefore, between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers ; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own), or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance : but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable. You may, notwithstanding, say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins ; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed where-out these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is *à Dieu*, their pretence and color, reformation. Those things, which under this color they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of

equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches and bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them, namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded un-

to them, are, as I conceive, two; senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry: for how should not men dare to impugn that which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of Atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning, for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing. Which humor of scoffing and turning matters most serious into merriment is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by "the seat of scornors," nor what the Apostles by foretelling of "scornors to come;" our own age hath verified their speech unto us. Which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford; which could not be done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of Atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and

impediments of their wicked life: among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come, they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labor, therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own Atheism is a very strong argument: for were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few cere-

monies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation. Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open to advantage both for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did somewhat overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these:

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two; overthrow of Episcopal; erection of Presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things, therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For

what if all errors by them supposed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own heart's desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders, therefore, presently authorized? their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but, by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As, therefore, in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so, in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or of innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, "Why, may not men speak against abuses?" Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also because it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and, for want of skill and authority, to amend it. Which

also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: some things, indeed, they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, "This must give place, because a better may be devised:" and in our judgment of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in device with those which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see, that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state. For personal faults, what can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both statesmen have always been, and will be always men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves; when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself

continually remaining in the south? "He that hath an office let him attend his office." When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinite of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous — shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude, you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion, not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in, or of both universities?), you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labor of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach, Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but even things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto,

therefore, they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit ; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but, passions being allayed, are vain and childish.

THIS Epitaph was long since presented to the world in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir WILLIAM COWPER ; who also built him a fair Monument in Bourne Charch, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER ; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books ; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church ceremonies he maintained : then why,
Without all ceremony, should he die ?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility ?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none ?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferred to greater honors go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise ;
Humility is the true way to rise :
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man — " Friend, sit up higher."

W. C.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONORED FRIEND,

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS EXCELLENT LIFE OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAVEN's youngest son, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, sacred Poesy,
No longer shall a virgin reckoned be
(Whate'er with others 't is) by me,
A female muse, as were the Nine ;
But (full of vigor masculine)
An essence male, with angels his companions, shine.
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, instructed them to sing
The praises of th' Immortal King
Who Lucifer in triumph led :
For, as in chains the monster sank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell
By him first taught, "How art thou fallen, thou
morning star ?" they said,

Too fondly then, we have fancied him a maid :
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade ;
A female angel less would Urbin's* skill upbraid.

II.

Thus 't was in heaven : this, Poesy's sex and age ;
And, when he thence to our lower world came
down,

He chose a form more like his own,
And Jesse's youngest son inspired with holy rage ;
The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,

And up he took his tuneful lyre ;
He took it up, and struck 't, and his own soft touches
did admire.

Thou, Poesy, on him didst bestow
Thy choicest gift, an honor showed before to none ;
And to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'st him thy empire and dominion ;

The happy land of verse, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow ;

Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,
And mad'st his first, more flourishing, and triumph-
ant crown.

Assist me thy great prophet's praise to sing,
David, the poet's and blessed Israel's king :
And with the dancing echo, let the mountains
ring !

Then, on the wings of some auspicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be raised on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

A lasting record find :

Be with his mighty psaltery joined ;
Which, taken long since up into the air,
And called the Harp, makes a bright constellation
there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And there, in view of all, exalted hang :
To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
And mystic oracles did dispense.
Though, had it still remained below,
More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been :
Herbert, who could so much without it do ;
Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know ;
More perfectly than any child of verse below.
O ! had we known him half so well !
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do ;
Who so exactly all his story tell,
That, though he did not want his bays,
Nor all the monuments virtue can raise,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praise.
Herbert and Donne again are joined,
Now here below, as they 're above ;
These friends are in their old embraces twined ;
And since by you the interview 's designed,
Too weak to part them death does prove ;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heaven
they love.

SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

BENSTEAD, April 3.

IN VITAM

GEORGII HERBERTI,

AB

ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

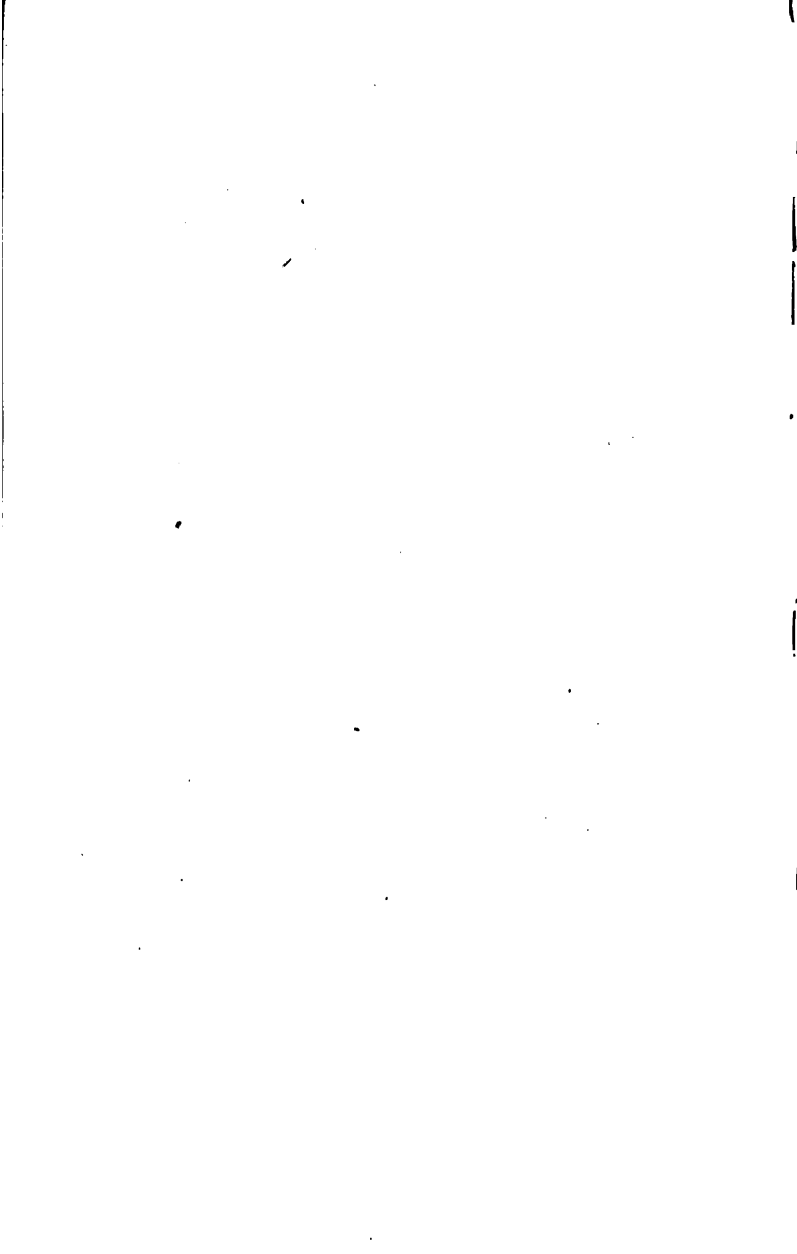
O QUAM erubesco cum tuam vitam lego,
 Herberte sancte, quamque me pudet meæ !
 Ego talpa cæcus hic humi fodiens miser,
 Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo ;
 Ego Choicum vas terreas fæces olens,
 Tu (sola namque Urania tibi ex Musis placet)
 Nil tale spiras ; sed sapis cælum et Deum,
 Omnique vitæ, libri et omni, lineâ ;
 Templumque tecum ubique circumfers tuum :
 Domi-porta cæli, cui domus propria, optima :
 Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii sedes ; ubi
 Tu, sancte vates, templum ibi, et cælum, et Deus.
 Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
 Speculum sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
 Pastoris ideam et libro et vitâ tuâ,
 Tu quale sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
 Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum !
 Typum,* Magistro nempe proximum tuo,
 Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit.
 Canonizet ergo quos velit Dominus Papa ;

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

Sibique sanctos, quos facit, servet suos
Colatque ; sancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus ;
" Oraq̃ue pro me," dicerem, si fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec est sanctis dari ;
Velis nec ipse ; recolo te, sed non colo.
Talis legenda est vita Sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quam potens et efficax !
Per talia exempla est breve ad cœlos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas scribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
Plures repræsentare ; quod tu dum facis,
Vitamque et illis et tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris æternæque vitæ consulis.
Urge ergo pensum ; et interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licet Biographus,
Herberto, amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
Liceat libro addere hanc coronidem tuo ;
Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
Meliorne amicus, sponsus, an pastor gregis,
Herbertus, incertum ; et quis hoc facile sciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus ?

JACOB. DUPORT, S. T. P.

Decanus Petr.



THE INTRODUCTION.

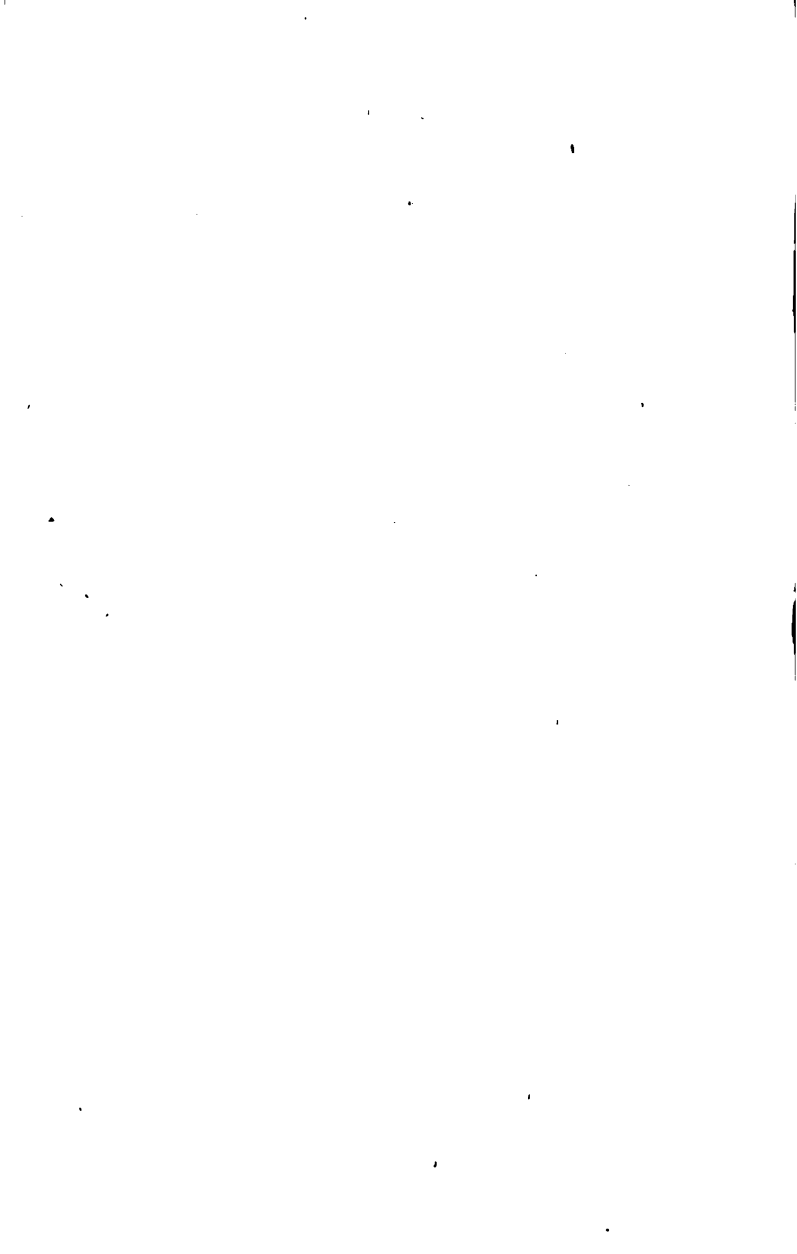
IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story, and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our Blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevelled hair were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders: but, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kissed the feet of hers and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider,

that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her ; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read ; intending thereby, that, as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives : and though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him ; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their

lives, or do now know them by mine or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it; and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.



THE LIFE
OF
MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county. That castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it, and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours ; a family, that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind ; for which they are eminent. But alas ! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates ; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household; a family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which, she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by king James sent ambassador resident to the then French king, Lewis the Thirteenth. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humors of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favorite at court: so that, upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honorable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles the First, who made him first Baron of Castle-Island, and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "*De Veritate*," and by his "*History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth*," and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honor in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was

the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there show a fortunate and true English valor. Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster, and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became

so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608 ; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor ; which he did most gladly undertake ; for he knew the excellences of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some

short account of them ; I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years : I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow ; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford ; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care ; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily : but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother ; which was to her great content : for she would often say, " that, as our bodies take a nourish-

ment suitable to the meat on which we feed, so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company : ” and would therefore as often say, “ that ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue ; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning.” For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years ; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that university ; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul’s, London ; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind. Of the first he says,

“ No spring nor summer beauty hath such grace,
As I have seen in an autumnal face.”

Of the latter he says,

“ In all her words to every hearer fit,
You may at revels, or at council sit.”

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls ; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues ; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias, whom, in his letters, he calls his Saint ; or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula, whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph ; wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders) ; a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family. And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors ; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"Your favors to me are every where; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning. But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need most have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

"Your unworthiest servant,

"Unless your accepting him to be so

"Have mended him,

"MICHAM, July 11, 1607. JO. DONNE."

"TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT ; OF ST. MARY
MAGDALEN.

"Her of your name, whose fair inheritance ,
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo ;
An active faith so highly did advance,
That she once knew more than the Church did
know,
The resurrection ; so much good there is
Delivered of her, that some Fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this,
But think these Magdalens were two or three.
Increase their number, Lady, and their fame ;
To their devotion, add your innocence !
Take so much of th' example as of the name ;
The latter half ; and in some recompense
That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
Harbour these hymns, to his dear name address.

J. D."

These hymns are now lost to us ; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand), and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety ; but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son ; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and

heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish church of Chelsea, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

— “ But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say the Muses used to take up their habitations. However I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to receive this as one testimony.”

" My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames ? Doth poetry

Wear Venus' livery ? only serve her turn ?
Why are not sonnets made of thee ? and lays
Upon thine altar burnt ? Cannot thy love

Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise

As well as any she ? Cannot thy dove
Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight ?

Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name !
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and
might

Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
Than that, which one day worms may chance re-
fuse ?

Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry

Oceans of ink ; for, as the deluge did
Cover the earth, so doth thy majesty :

Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another use.

Roses and lilies speak thee ; and to make
A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuse.

Why should I women's eyes for crystal take ?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind

Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praise and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.

Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
In the best face but filth ; when, Lord, in thee
The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H."

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother ; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age ; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favor both with God and man ; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven ; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611 ; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615 : and that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the twenty-second year of his age ; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master ; and of which he would say, “ that it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above the earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven before he possessed them.” And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the col-

lege, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and, if during this time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was Anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator for the university. His two precedent Orators were Sir Robert Nanton and Sir Francis Nethersole: the first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gayety as any had ever before or since his time. For, "he had acquired great learning, and was blessed with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of showing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that university his book, called "Basilicon Doron"; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honor, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis, hospes !
Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber."

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the Orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him; whose answer was, "that he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer, the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, "that he might love him too; for he took him to be the jewel of that university."

The next occasion he had and took to show his great abilities was with them, to show also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this. There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch

Church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but king of that nation, who the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the bishops and other learned divines of his church, to attend him at Hampton Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrews,

and his liberty too : for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent prisoner, there ; and he pleased himself much in sending the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady ; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these :

“ Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Arabella, tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.”

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death ; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honorable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humor ; and where Mr. George Herbert was to

welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an Orator, which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King's favor, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "that he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of state and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful apho-

risms, in a long letter, written in Greek ; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations ; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne ; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "*Crux mihi anchora.*" These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value ; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him :

" When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure."

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state, he being at that time very high in the King's favor; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility. This, and the love of a court conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, where-soever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favorite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humor for clothes and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now prebendary of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which, he thought, did impair his health

for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "he had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of "Affliction"; and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says;

"Whereas my birth and spirit rather took

The way that takes the town:

Thou didst betray me to a lingering book,

And wrap me in a gown:

I was entangled in a world of strife,

Before I had the power to change my life.

"Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,

Not simpering all mine age;

Thou often didst with academic praise

Melt and dissolve my rage:

I took the sweetened pill, till I came where

I could not go away, nor persevere.

" Yet lest perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses.
Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways tak-
ing.

" Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will show :
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust
Her household with me, and I would be just.

" Yet though thou troublest me, I must be meek,
In weakness must be stout :
Well, I will change my service and go seek
Some other master out :
Ah ! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H."

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did, in a short time, put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton ; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court hopes : so that

he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) — These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint a court friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth: and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible; yet I will labor to make it honorable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them;

knowing that I can never do too much for Him that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labor to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to

enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands: being for the workmanship a costly Mosaic; for the form an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height: for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honor and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you to persuade you to commit Simony,

by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you ; namely, that you give him back his prebend : for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it to him, his next request was, " that she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son ; for he had made a vow to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church : " and then showed her such reasons for his resolution ; that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors ; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds ; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered ; as, also, the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer and Mr. Arthur Woodnot, the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten ; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place ; but before I proceed farther I

will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot :

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them ; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not ; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth : and having attained so much as to be able to show some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends : and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert ; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church ; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed, I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert ; from whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER,
IN HER SICKNESS.

“MADAM,

“At my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement: wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter? — Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for yourself. But would

you divide and choose too ? our college customs allow not that ; and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you : for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarls and incumbrances : happy is he, whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death ; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it ; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance. So that now, if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience : insomuch, that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since, if we had riches, we are commanded to give them away ? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But, perhaps, be-

ing above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion. But, O God ! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find 'Blessed be the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble'; but 'Blessed be the meek,' and 'Blessed be the poor,' and 'Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.' And yet, O God ! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement ; but their fiery trials have had an end : and yours (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you, let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow ; and know, that if any of yours should prove a Goliath-like trouble, yet you may say with David, 'That God, who delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.' Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul, consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And,

above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist : ' Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee,' Psal. lv. To which join that of St. Peter, ' Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you,' 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend his service. To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you, (Philip. iv. 4.) ; St. Paul saith there, ' Rejoice in the Lord always : and again I say, Rejoice.' He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions ? Yes, I say again, Rejoice ; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice ; but, whatsoever befalls us, we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse : ' Let your moderation appear to all men. The Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing.' What can be said more comfortably ? Trouble not yourselves, God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

TRINITY COLLEGE, May 25, 1622."

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he showed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble

house, which stands in a choice air ; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness : and then he declared his resolution, both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother and his other relations ; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it ; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage ; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was, for his person, of a stature inclining towards tallness ; his body was very straight ; and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh,

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester; and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement. But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William was lately dead), requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance." And the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "he endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of those conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations), and was joyful to be

an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole Court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did. And Mr. Herbert, being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before); and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought them to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to

prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life ; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it ! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety ; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas ! who is fit to undertake it ? I confess I am not ; and am not pleased with myself that I must ; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure : my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows ; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he stayed so much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to those friends that stayed expecting him at the church door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar : at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he

set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labor to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot; "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for: and I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures; pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his service is a fullness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honored me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same

to good effect. And I beseech him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor: and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will, and always call him 'Jesus, my master'; and I will always condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus, my master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his "Book of Sacred Poems;" especially in that which he calls "The Odour." In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, Jesus, and say, that the adding these words, my master, to it, and the often repetition of them seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragranciness in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place in his poems ("The Pearl," Mat. xiii.) to rejoice and say, — "He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what, when it is forced by fire; knew the ways of honor, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions; knew the court; knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

"That through these labyrinths, not my grovelling
wit,
But thy silk-twist, let down from heaven to me,
Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
To climb to thee."

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton, and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her, — "You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence of place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

“If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost?
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labor's not lost.”

We will now, by the reader's favor, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and ex-

cellent learning), tells me, "he laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas ! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest, as he intended to be, ought to observe ; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions ; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson" ; in which some of his rules are :

"The Parson's knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson praying.
The Parson preaching.
The Parson's charity.
The Parson comforting the sick.
The Parson arguing.
The Parson condescending.
The Parson in his journey.
The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson with his churchwardens.
The Parson blessing the people."

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy rules set down in that useful book ;

a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable ; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot ; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent Preface ; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, " Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man ; and delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence ; but, at the close of this sermon, told them, " that should not be his constant way of preaching ; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions ; but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, " that they would be constant to the afternoon's service and

catechizing ;" and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it ; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day ; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read ; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them ; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service ; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God : as namely, that we begin with confession " of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners ;" and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for : but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed ; and hoping that, as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon ; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord,

“to open our lips, that our mouths may show forth his praise :” for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ;” and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service ; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past ; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for “with such sacrifices God is honored and well pleased.” This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation ; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a reasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind ; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their “souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God

their Saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their "eyes have" also "seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they lived to see it daily in the history of it, and, therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy, — a service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, "He that praiseth the Lord, honoreth him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of

our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and showed that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people." These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of

the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you ;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit ;" and then they join together in the following collects ; and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them ; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the church ; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service ; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship an idol or false god ; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the con-

gregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds ; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that "the God that they trusted in was one God and three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they and the priest gave glory." And because there had been heretics that had denied some of those three persons to be God ; therefore the congregation stood up and honored him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so, world without end." And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, "Amen."

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent use of them ; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God ; and (as Rev. Mr. Hooker says) "to be the landmarks to distinguish times : " for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember ; and therefore they were to note, that

the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "she should conceive and bare a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind." And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call, "The Purification of the blessed Virgin Saint Mary." And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate his glo-

rious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be "that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried;" and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, "That though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their comforter;" and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks: and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the altar or communion-table; why the priest was to pray the litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits to my pen, and not

make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it. But I have done when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechizing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechizing was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproofing the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddled up the church prayers without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's Prayer or a collect in a breath. But for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family twice every day

at the church prayers in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honor of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only "his own household thus to serve the Lord," but brought most of his parishioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day. And some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labor. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor

those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form and not long ; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week. Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol. And though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury ; and at his return would say, "that his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music meeting ; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, " Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."²

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly beg to be excused if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh." After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolment for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers, would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strict-

ly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.

“And another cure would be for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechizing, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend ; but principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblamably ; and that the dignified clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives : for this would force a love, and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be such.” (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) “This,” said Mr. Herbert, “would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity ; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it ; and till then the fault must lie at our doors.”

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load ; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man

to unload, and after, to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man ; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse ; and told him, " that if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed ; but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him " he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment ; " his answer was, " that the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight ; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place ; for if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life, without comforting a sad soul, or showing mercy ; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us use our instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which he met

with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus ; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction ; and did always confirm his precepts, by showing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn : which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty ; for she rejoiced in the employment : and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it ; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours ; to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress ; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do

it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "he would not see the danger of want so far off; but, being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity! and that being all my tithes and church-dues are a deodate from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus, my Master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain,

and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, "his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. "But," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now Rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and

to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery ; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet ; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Ferrar ; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him ; and after some discourse of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, " Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me ; " which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, " What prayers ? " to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, " O, sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England ; no other prayers are equal to them ! but at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint ; " and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me ; and tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person ; and says, " his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentle and meek, that after almost forty years yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left

him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge ; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it ; for Mr. Ferrar having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, " a nothing between two dishes," did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death ; and his life was spent thus :

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used : and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days ; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor : but this was but a part of his charity ; none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life ; and all of them were for

their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner : — He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned ; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor. And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house ; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms ; and, in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God,

and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day ; and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms : and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse ; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night : — thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance ; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and de-

votion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John Valdesso" (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did

read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it ; and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars ; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himself for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution : but God and himself did, till then, only know them ; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse ; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a sermon of contempt of

the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: and the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his "Hundred and Ten Considerations," and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condi-

tion of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me; and let him know, that I have considered, that God only is what he would be; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus, my Master in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of "The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations"; of which Mr. Ferrar would say, "there was in it the picture of a divine soul in every

page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

"Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,"

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them; but after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from

London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay. he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebendaries of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, and music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me like a dream or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New

Jerusalem ; dwell there with men made perfect ; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour, Jesus ; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends. But I must die or not come to that happy place : and this is my content, that I am going daily towards it ; and that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me ; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past." — These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

" My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing."

And having tuned it, he played and sung :

" The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal, glorious King :
On Sundays heaven's door stands open ;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope. "

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned; and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the reëdifying Layton Church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him, whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did; to which his answer was, "that he had

passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his Master, Jesus." After which answer he looked up and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to show kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not, now my strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for the merits of

my Jesus. And now, Lord, — Lord, now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation :

" ——— All must to their cold graves ;
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust."

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

IZ. WA.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will labor to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) "O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "that name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality." By Sir Robert, she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which

time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public, but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

THE LIFE
OF
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,
LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONORABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, PRELATE OF THE GARTER,

AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

If I should undertake to enumerate the many favors and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sander-son. But though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire, to outlive him ; and farther from an intention to write his Life. But the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last ; which is here dedicated to your Lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,

And most humble servant,

IZAACK WALTON.

THE PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderson; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity as to undertake it. For as it may be noted, that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten; so I conceive the great satisfaction many scholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear, and useful learning, and might have by a true narrative of his matchless meekness, his calm fortitude, and the innocence of his whole life, doth justly challenge the like from this present age, that posterity may not be ignorant of them. And it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fif-

teen years neglected. But in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that), but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say, what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and if I have been too bold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favor.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I meet with such persuasions to undertake it; and, so many willing informers since, and from them and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burden with which I had loaden myself, and sometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the reader, and with it, this desire, that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderson did in his will or last sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and also, for that he might have changed his opinion since he first wrote it, as it is thought he has since

he wrote his "*Pax Ecclesiæ*." And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his "*Case of Conscience concerning Rash Vows*," that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these me-

moirs of this humble man, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrow compass ; and, if I have, by the pleasant toil of so doing, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it. But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sander-son's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen ; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I W.

THE LIFE
OF
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth, and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September, in the year of our redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York, a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotherham, sometime Archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great sanctity, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson, of Giltthwaite-hall, in the said parish and county, Esq., by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson the father was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honorable family of his own name : for the search of which truth I refer my reader that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's " History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire," and other records ; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality. For titles not acquired, but derived only, do but show us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honor which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valor, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honor was built ; and all the rubbish of their degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dishonorable heads ; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But this Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family ; of which one testimony may

be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious Earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; to whose merits and memory posterity (the clergy especially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who (like Josiah, that good king) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life ; seeming even then to dedicate himself and all his studies to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed his ; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others ; and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example, as also by his frequent conversing with him, and scattering short and virtuous apothegms with little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, by which his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue : and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so

habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blessed with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians, namely, "That he that had begun a good work in them, would finish it." And Almighty God did : for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death, and with truth and comfort, what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them "to walk as they had him for an example."

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did ; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotherham (that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name.) And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty ; and to be of so calm and obliging behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school till about the thirteenth year of his age ; at which time his father designed to improve his

grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster ; and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions ; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon, and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College ; and he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and not long after to matriculate him in the university, which he did the first of July, 1603 ; but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of May, 1606, at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts : at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the Rector, that " his pupil Sanderson had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory ; and that he thought he had improved or made the last so by an art of his own invention." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this university; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company; and they resting on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend, and going together to that parish church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie), and showed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house, where after some other conference the Doctor told him, he might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears which needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that word for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all them,

and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed ;” and told him “ if his friend ” (then attending him) “ should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favor.” To which Mr. Sanderson said, “ he hoped he should not.” And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, “ he would not justify himself.” And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th) Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities, the time was shorter than was then or is now required ; but either his birth or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so : and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last ; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have misinformed me ; but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his college chosen reader of logic in the house ; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him

both love and reverence from the whole society ; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful ; both which were, God knows, so co-natural, as they never left him : and I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had ; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which, by God's assisting grace, never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the Proctors of the university. And it was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole society, of which he was a member, who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their College for the space of sixty years, namely, not from the year 1554 unto his standing ; and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers ; and told him, " that he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his College." By these, and other like persuasions, he yielded up his reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so

sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "that if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake. For he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others to renew the logic lectures which he had read some years past in his college; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity.

And though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an art of right reasoning; an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; and enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art may easily appear from that clearness of method, argument,

and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. And he, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both universities teach Dr. Sanderson's logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since this his Book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold; and that it is like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie and the fellows of his own College, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former op-

posers repented what they had done ; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingness) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so ; and was, the 10th of April, 1616, chosen Senior Proctor for the year following ; Mr. Charles Crooke of Christ church being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate ; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Baliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity, (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the other chiefs of all the university. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642 (being then elected Bishop of Worcester), at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius professorship.

And in this year, Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells ; a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and

whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then, as usually, preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and so applied them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to mend their lives; and having done that, he would take them, though never so poor, to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing und persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his humility and charity, and all other Christian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent Sermons.

And in this year, also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right honorable, and as magnificent, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late King Charles the First (then Prince of Wales) came honorably attended to Oxford ; and having deliberately visited the university, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And in this year King James sent letters to the university for the regulating their studies, especially of the young divines ; advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other knotty points depending upon these : points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be, Mr. Calvin's meaning ; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge ; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon : and that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it ;

yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the university ; which at that time was either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion ; some of which statutes were then, and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed till Archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them), yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do. Of which one example may seem worthy the noting ; namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity : but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him, unsent for, next morning : and when they did, convinced them with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions

as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said to God, "There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared." And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his Proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy, he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose:—"I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper are by sudden and small occasions transported, and hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid and require repentance; and consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon; and consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraid-

ing impressions in the memory as abates of the offender's content; when I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper that hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David (I wish I could), that therefore 'his praise shall always be in my mouth'; yet I hope that, by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his Proctorship, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College in that university; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his godfather (the father of our Proctor) to let his son know it, and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to entreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon, having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore appre-

hend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment ; the fear of which made his bed restless that night ; but at their meeting the next morning that fear vanished immediately by the Proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of ; of a friendship free from all self-ends : and it continued to be so till death forced a separation of it on earth ; but it is now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his Proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that university since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained deacon and priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ-church, and then knew him so well, that he owned it at his ordination, and became his more affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the twenty-ninth of his age, he took from the university a license to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, and he apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannell in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living (which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton,) he was presented by Thomas Harrington, of the same county and parish, Esq., a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his pa-

tron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannell, he resigned his fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words :

“ EGO, ROBERTUS SANDERSON, PER, &c.

“ I, Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

MAY 6, 1619.

ROBERT SANDERSON.”

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, (or the King, “sede vacante,”) made prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that see.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his

general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them; he, having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife that made his life happy, by

being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outlived him.

And in this Boothby Pannell he either found or made his parishioners peaceable and complying with him in the constant, decent, and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised in order to the honor of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, "that without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not (or are at least the less) effectual; and usually rather harden, than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church prayers, catechizing, preaching, and administering the sa-

ceraments seasonably ; but thought (if the law or the canons may seem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin ; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising not only what the law enjoins, but what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it ; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, " help to bear one another's burden," either of sorrow or want. And what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he

had taken a meadow, the rent of which was nine pounds a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days' constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson, for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant, telling him how much God is pleased "when men compassionate the poor"; and told him, that "though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is best pleased when he is called the God of Mercy"; and told him, "the riches

he was possessed of were given him by that God of Mercy, who would not be pleased if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing." This he told him : and told him, that " the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honest or merciful ; that was too nice an undertaking ; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet that our law was defective in both ; and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him : " and told him, that " riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, prove like gravel in his teeth ; would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labor to vomit it up, and not be able : and therefore advised him (being very rich) to make friends of his ' unrighteous mammon,' before that evil day come upon him : but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, sad tenant, for that were to gain a temporal and lose his eternal happiness." These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and

so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, that "he had seen none perish for want of clothing; and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice." And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county; by the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to

judge them, yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the art of it), yet he was punished with such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure (which was in the year 1632), "that the best sermons that were ever read were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and pious Archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there), told the King (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles the First) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it; for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following (1631). And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as it is said that, after many

hard questions put to the prophet Daniel, King Darius found "an excellent spirit in him"; so it was with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent King; who having put many cases of conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content in conversing with him (which he did several times in private) that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him "he should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the King thought what he spake; for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King (which was 1625), he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many

critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin, though others say they were long before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up for his own satisfaction such a scheme (he called it "*Pax Ecclesiæ*") as then gave himself, and hath since given others, such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign: which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, that unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the predestinarian points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend Dean of Salisbury. And here the reader may note, that in letters wrote to the said Dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have altered his judgment, in some points, since he wrote his scheme, called "*Pax Ecclesiæ*," which he seems to say in his last will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honorable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, because at the King's com-

ing thither, May 3, Mr. Sanderson did then attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honor had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his university. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon; and Prince Rupert, who still lives; the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, Earl of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly sick of being well, namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new covenant; for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by so many thou-

sands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request : so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army ; but upon a treaty and some concessions he sent them back, though not so rich as they intended, yet, for that time, without bloodshed. But oh ! this peace and this covenant were but the forerunners of war and the many miseries that followed : for in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with those very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that Parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England : and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto, — “ FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS.” — This I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the

bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common-prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for another reformation: and though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet, to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641 desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's

house, for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642 proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines, to debate and settle church controversies; of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the Parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the King's authority.

And here I must look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though knowledge be said to "puff up," yet his modesty, and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other

real or pretended reasons, expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed, kept him from entering into it till October, 1646.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first "de Jure-mento," a point very seraphical and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject ; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at least very useful to their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures "de Conscientiâ," I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens fall short in the commendation of them ; so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that part of casuistical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures (the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Westminster sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more, to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair,

and all heads of houses. And all the other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day ; for those that did not, were to abandon their colleges and the University too within twenty-four hours after the beating a drum ; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud (the Archbishop of Canterbury), the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered, but the King yet was not ; and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made, that the dissenters in the university might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences. And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, now Bishop of Winchester, and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a

part; the rest I cannot now name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize, and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so. And then, after they had been read in a full convocation and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them. But they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment, and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Shelden (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester), to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in

Church and State; but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him by those Independents now in present power. And with some of those divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his Majesty in the Isle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling theirs and the Cathedral Church land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his Majesty in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him "to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity." To which his answer was, "that he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "it was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be made a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to

tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known ; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, that " if he assented not to the Parliament's proposals, the treaty betwixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be in danger ; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, " I have done what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals and cannot ; and I will not lose my conscience to save my life." And within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, that " the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland ; and that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance (I think barefoot) from the Tower of London or Whitehall, to St. Paul's church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon." I am sure one of them, that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's lectures " de Juremendo " were so approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he translated them into exact English, desiring

Dr. Juxson (then Bishop of London), Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert (who then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately showed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms. The translation was designed to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honor of the author and translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair at Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the covenant, negative oath, and Parliament ordinance for church discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and University full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject' the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods. But, notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and, with a calm fortitude, make such applications, as,

if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened ; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves immediately of their colleges ; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June, 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Shelden, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ Church (now Lord Bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them ; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed ; but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially. For at this time the privileges of that part of the Parliament then sitting were become a “ *Noli me tan-*

gere"; as sacred and useful to them as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for non-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the dissenters out of the university. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favor; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had such a love for Dr. Morley, that, knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college and leave Oxford, he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in

safety ; and that by so doing he should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy his canon's place in the college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he professed, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word ; to which his answer was, "that I must not fail to return my friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness ; for when Dr. Fell (then the dean) Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the college were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with him only. Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be easily imagined with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence : but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went ; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the covenant, or forbear reading Common-prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted, that about this time the Parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a select committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant; by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.

The bishops had been about this time voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many

Covenanters rejoice, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his "Comment on the Apocalypse"; a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets, and called "Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation," and both brought up and believed by all the Covenanters. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet because he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no bishops, to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, "that angel that God loved"; and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil angel, which the House of Commons had now so spewed up, as never to recover their dignity;—therefore did those Covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good penny-worths of all their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did and when he did not preach true doctrine; and by this, and the like means, seve-

ral churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another ; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not ; some of which I shall mention in what will follow.

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person ; and one concluded he was a very honest man, for he was beholden to him ; and the other that he was not, for he was not beholden to him. And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former : for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace if we were but zealous for the covenant, and the other not : (for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves ; and therefore not to force any to swear to the covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too ;) but though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common-prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings ; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of election, reprobation, and free-will, and the other points dependent upon these ; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very Covenantanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large yew tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners : and they, excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, "that the trees were his, and it was lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as others, thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it) that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after it is buried ; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity, and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it. I speak

this because I would not suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did : and whether there were any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy ; but it proved otherwise. For all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit ; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens ; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian Thucydides saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations. And so though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well, yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably ; nor did he ; for the soldiers would ap-

pear and visibly oppose and disturb him in the church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably, which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church service, they forced his book, from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was advised by a Parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common-prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him ; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration ; for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the rubric. I well set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand ; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

“O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with shame and sorrow confess that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep ; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended

against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed ; we have many times left undone those good duties which we might and ought to have done ; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us ; but all our hope is in thy mercy ; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked : have mercy therefore upon us, O, Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders : spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not ; but, according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favor. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In these and other provocations of tearing his service-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said : " God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children, where

I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so ; but I will labor to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place (Doctor of the Chair) of great reputation and profit : and though my condition be such, that I need the last, yet I submit ; for God did not send me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will, and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise, and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed ; still justifying the truth of that doctrine and the reason of that discipline which he had preached,

About this time that excellent book of "The King's Meditations in his Solitude" was printed, and made public : and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the author, and so desirous that not this nation only, but the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which he and many others then suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin ; but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy

a quiet conversation and rest with him for some days at Boothby Pannell, and did so; and having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had wrote it, Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end, they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbouring minister, and requested to exchange a sermon, and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looking on his sermon as written, observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him; for it was discernible to many of that plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that neither you nor any man living shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good Doctor, be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without book, I will give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time to discourse Dr. Sanderson about

some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly. It was about those knotty points which are, by the learned, called the *Quinquarticular Controversy*; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that), but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, "that all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor, by their most diligent endeavour, to avoid the latter. Others that it was not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world"; affirming therefore, "that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling"; maintaining, "that it is most certain every man can do what he can to be saved; and as certain, that he that does what he can to be saved shall never be damned." And

yet many that affirmed this to be a truth would yet confess, "that that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend Dean of Salisbury), of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his "Practical Catechism" affirmed, that "our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind." To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he revered and loved dearly), and would not therefore engage himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end. Nevertheless they did all en-

ter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says "God can reconcile his own contradictions," and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, "to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these fifty-two ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controversy; for none have

since undertaken to say more ; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honor of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed, to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it, yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us ; that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples) " pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used him ; " and not only pardoned those enemies, but pas-

sionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them ; and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, " that they would pardon and pray for him." But though he did all this, yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that, though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, " that the Parliament would hasten his execution." And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died), he declared with sadness, " that the several sects and divisions then in England (which he had labored to prevent) were now like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest than he could ever have expected without them ;" and said, " these sects and divisions introduce profaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion " ; and, " that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion ; and that by these means, the Church of England, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those Covenanters, which were his accusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death ; for which, and

more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable Prefaces before his two volumes of Sermons ; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he was, and apprehended himself to be, very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war, begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the professor's chair in Oxford ; and that, if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after), both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, "that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him" : but this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannell where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but neither can now be found there : for the first was, in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garri-

son of the Parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account :

There was one Mr. Clarke (the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell), who was an active man for the Parliament and covenant ; and one that, when Belvoir castle (then a garrison for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark (then a garrison of the King's) ; a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison ; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly ; but told him, " he must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the King's garrison of Newark." There were many reasons given by the Doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were ineffectual : for done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions :

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged should live undisturbed at their

own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe nor quietly, being several times plundered and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both, and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet by His providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by what means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience;

some known to him and many not ; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters ; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds ; yet, as St. Paul accounted himself “ a debtor to all men,” so he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, “ that all worldly joys seem less, when compared with showing mercy, or doing kindness ” ; then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of consolation, Dr. Sanderson, might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences ; which, as Solomon says, “ are a burden that none can bear,” though their fortitude may sustain their other calamities : and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies, then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied ; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that “ God had inclined his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.”

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity ; as namely : —

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recusant.

3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony ; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive so many mistaken patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown restless and giddy by the many falsehoods, and misapplications of truths, frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous phrensies in this time, he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that, though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold Preface now extant before his last twenty Sermons (first printed in the dangerous year 1655) ; in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear

convincing applications made to the Nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered living, and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that living), was yet at the reading of it so awakened (for there is a divine power in reason), that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was still to sustain if he consented to it, and being still unwilling to be so convinced as to lose by being over-reasoned, he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the Preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly ministers of that party for unjust dealing." To which his reply was, ('t was Tim. Garthwaite) that "'t was not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books; and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-colored clothes, and God knows, far from being costly, The place of our meeting was near

to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse (for it began to rain); and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood; and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it, and, at least, pretend to make better prayers extempore; and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the

church, saying, "the Holy Ghost seemed to assist the composers; and, that the effect of a constant use of it would be, to melt and form the soul into holy thoughts and desires; and beget habits of devotion." This he said; and that "the collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant, comprehensive expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and that so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and their praises for mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw, unpremeditated expressions which many understood not, and to which many of the hearers could not say, 'Amen.'"

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David, speaking to this purpose, "that they were the treasury of Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities, able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; able to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's

leisure for what we beg : able to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and providence of our Creator ; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his will ; and then (and not till then) to believe ourselves happy." This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us ; and that by the frequent use of the last, they would not only prove to be our soul's comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself and sorrow, concerning the Liturgy and Psalms ; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, " that they might be religious first, and then just and merciful ; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping ; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous ; that to be

cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though it is evidently false; that to speak evil of government, and to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin." These and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blessed, before the unhappy covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "that the way to restore this nation to a more meek, and Christian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known by the common people) to be put into fifty-two homilies, or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's reading: and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed; and what God requires to be done; and then some plain applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a set time; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following.

And he explained the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, "All grammar scholars that are often shifted from one to another school, learn neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those

that are constant to one good master : because, by the several rules of teaching in those several schools, they learn less, and become more and more confused ; and, at last, so puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves useless both to themselves and others. And so do the immethodical, useless, needless notions, that are delivered in many sermons, make the hearers ; but a clear and constant rule of teaching us what we are to know and do, and what not, and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the nation to a more conscientious practice of what we know, and ought to do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reason of this his desire : and O that he had undertaken what he advised ; for then, in all probability, it would have proved so useful, that the present age would have been blessed by it, and posterity would have blessed him for it.

And, at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, " O that I had gone chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton ! which was once intended when he first went ambassador to the state of Venice : for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several men of several nations ; and might thereby have kept myself

from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and besides, by that means, I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing, one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning, prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padre Paulo, who, the author of his Life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: a man whose fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in those times of confusion many parishes where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner, as they could not with a good conscience take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, "The blessed sacrament

did, even by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received that last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and also to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings; and, that done, to bewail them seriously, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's commands better, and beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last sick-beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an endearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm and so matchless a fortitude, as se-

cured him from complying with any of those many Parliamentary injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, so like the primitive Christians, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after, the clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God whose pure eyes abhor iniquity, and especially in them.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect. But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book: and would say, "the repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself (which he did often) was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it voluntarily to themselves or friends."

And though he was blessed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend, Dr. Sheldon, would often say of him, namely, "that his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not, probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not suffer his mind to be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a

recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes, and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy, humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness ; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family ; nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition ; and that he therefore resolved with David, "that his praise should be always in his mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past ; and much more might be added of all : but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men (clergymen especially) were sufferers ; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate. And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle, a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of

whom I would say much more, but that he still lives, having casaally met with and read his Lectures "de Juramento" to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) fifty pounds, and with it a request and promise. The request was, "that he would review the Lectures 'de Conscientiâ,' which he had read when he was Doctor of the Chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity;" and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659. And the promise was, "that he would pay him that, or, if he desired it, a greater sum yearly, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in church and state; when amazement and fear had seized most of them by foreseeing they must now not

only vomit up the Church's and the King's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him; when these wretches (that had said to themselves, "We shall see no sorrow") were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign by our King's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then the 29th of May following, the King was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number.

At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the Presbyterian severities, the Doctor said to a friend, " I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times, with amazement and thankfulness ; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independents have punished and supplanted them, as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (so many as still live) restored to their lawful right ; and, as the prophet David hath taught me, so I say, with a thankful heart, ' Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth : and a reward for the righteous.' "

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read), that, in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue, were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of Episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a bishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labor and care : that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the church's good and the poor ; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others ; and that the account of that stewardship must, at the last dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts : and, for these reasons, they were in the primitive

times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; as namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better), was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would, for God's and the Church's sake, take that care and charge upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say, "he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; and besought

God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares, and endeavours might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others."

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric, and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last, some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: for there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy, in the Strand; and the points debated were, I think, many (and I think many of them needless); some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be

either ; and these debates, being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For some time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren ; yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter was one, and I am sure also one of the points debated was, " Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful command ? " This following proposition was brought by the conforming party :

" That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus : one was, " Because that may be a sin ' per accidens,' which is not so in itself ; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." And another was, " That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence 'per accidens' any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: "Because the first act commanded may be 'per accidens' unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly, or 'per accidens,' any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act 'per accidens' unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING.

JOHN PIERSON.

These were then two of the disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now Lord

Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name,) appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it; and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction, by alteration, explanation, and addition, to some part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary collects, with a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was de-

terminated, the convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete by adding three new necessary offices ; which were, " A Form of Humiliation for the murder of King Charles the Martyr " ; " A Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King " ; and " For the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age." I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the convocation ; and he did also, by desire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-book). And it may be noted, that William, the now most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful, and especially in helping to rectify the Kalendar and Rubric. And lastly it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson ; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, " The Preface " : and begins thus, " It hath been the wisdom of the church."

I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table when they came to visit him : then they prayed for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them ; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity ; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntingdon, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his diocese) having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired ; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended to the care of the

bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small vicarages ; he, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases : so fast, that a friend, taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, “ he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered.” To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, “ It would not become a Christian bishop to suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair ; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor vicars that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God’s altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of cheerfulness ; and wished, that as this was, so it were also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence, and in the hands of a God that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy.”

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness. This minister asked the Bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, "That he declined reading many books; but what he did read were well chosen, and read so often, that he became very familiar with them"; and told him, "they were chiefly three, 'Aristotle's Rhetoric,' 'Aquinas's *Secunda Secundæ*,' and 'Tully,' but chiefly his 'Offices,' which he had not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age repeat without book." And told him also, "The learned civilian Dr. Zouch (who died lately) had writ '*Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*'; which was a book that he thought he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much": and he told him "the study of these had been his toil; but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation."

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding), he made his last will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what has been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did, in his last will, give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and church government, in these very words:

“I, Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) with-

out any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin), but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial ex-

amination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me : and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of Mercies, to preserve the church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end : which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are to rise, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also further humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious sovereign, the reverend bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures ; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows :

“ As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or, at the farthest, the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person, how near soever related to me, other than the inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expense of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning gown for the preacher; whereof the former, after my body shall be interred, to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish, for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains five pounds, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription, in legible

Roman characters :— *DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPÆ BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS.* — This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times ; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other : at least howsoever testifying at my death, what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time, my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expenses otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons." — This is a part of his will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Bugden, the third day after his death ; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he

desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have, to his just praise, told this truth, that he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick bed.

His last will, of which I have mentioned a part, was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. Thus, as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed: still laboring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his clergy (which are more numerous than any other bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did, by commission, empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power, to give institution to all livings or church preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their pray-

ers backward for him ; and that it was not his desire to live an useless life, and, by filling up a place, keep another out of it that might do God and his church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "that during his being a housekeeper, which was more than forty years, there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first." He would also mention with thankfulness, "that, till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor, upon himself, so much in wine : and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father ; and that he hoped that he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day ; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family, out of "The Whole Duty of Man." As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals : and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he, expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, with some earnestness, "A quarter of an hour !—Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live ?" And though he did live many

hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for this blessing was ended, he spake to this purpose: "I have now, to the great joy of my soul, tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my Saviour's death and passion; and with it received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardoned, and my God at peace with me; and that I shall never have a will or power to do any thing that may separate my soul from the love of my dear Saviour. Lord, confirm this belief in me; and make me still to remember that it was thou, O God, that tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful Protector of

me to this present moment of my life ; thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was not of myself but by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials; and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die remembering this, and praising thee, my merciful God." — The frequent repetition of the Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians ; the Psalms having in them, not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies, as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist said, that "his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night-watches, by meditating on God's word ;" — so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very psalms that the Church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning-service ; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the

evening ; remembering and repeating the very psalms appointed for every day ; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if the first-fruits of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it ; he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution ; and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful ; and he said often, " Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment : and, during that time, did often say to himself the one hundred and third Psalm, a psalm that is composed of praise and consolations, fitted for a dying soul ; and say also to himself very often these words, " My heart is fixed, O God ! my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found." And now his thoughts seemed to be wholly of death, for

which he was so prepared that that king of terrors could not surprise him "as a thief in the night"; for he had often said, "he was prepared, and longed for it." And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not, till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them into that place, "into which sin and sorrow cannot enter."

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. — It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say, Amen.

I. W.

NOTES.

VOL. II.

21

NOTES.

Page 27. *Whether his last ejaculations, &c.*

"It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying."—(*Fuller.*) The following beautiful lines upon him were written by Fuller :

" Holy learning, sacred arts,
Gifts of nature, strength of parts,
Fluent grace, an humble mind,
Worth reformed, and wit refined,
Sweetness both in tongue and pen,
Insight both in books and men,
Hopes in woe, and fears in weal,
Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal,
A liberal heart, and free from gall,
Close to friend and true to all,
Height of courage in truth's duel,
Are the stones that made this JEWEL.
Let him that would be truly blest
Wear this Jewel in his breast."

Page 32. *George Sandys's translation of the Psalms.*

To justify the character given of him as a poet by Walton, we subjoin his "Version of the VIII Psalm :"

" Lord, how illustrious is thy name !
Whose power both heaven and earth proclaim !
Thy glory thou hast set on high,
Above the marble-arched sky.
The wonders of thy power thou hast
In mouths of babes and sucklings placed ;
That so thou mightst thy foes confound,
And who in malice most abound.
When I, pure heaven, thy fabric see,
The moon and stars disposed by thee ;
O what is man or his frail race,
That thou shouldst such a shadow grace !
Next to thy angels most renowned,
With majesty and glory crowned :
The king of all thy creatures made ;
That all beneath his feet hath laid :
All that on dales or mountains feed,
That shady woods or deserts breed ;
What in the airy region glide,
Or through the rolling ocean slide.
Lord, how illustrious is thy name !
Whose power both heaven and earth proclaim ! "

Page 35. *St. Paul's Cross.*

We learn from Stowe, that in the midst of the churchyard of St. Paul's was a pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead, in which were sermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon, when the court and

the magistrates of the city, besides a vast concourse of people, usually attended. Dugdale mentions "its leaded cover." This circumstance explains Owen's epigram entitled "Paul's Crosse and the Crosse in Cheap opposite St. Peter's Church."

"Aurea cur Petro posita est crux, plumbea Paulo?
Paulinam decorant aurea verba crucem."

In foul and rainy weather these solemn sermons were preached at a place called "The Shrouds," which was, it seems, by the side of the Cathedral Church, under a covering or shelter." In the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College in Cambridge, is a drawing of the pulpit at Paul's Cross, as it appeared in 1621. — During the wars of York and Lancaster Paul's Cross was a mere state engine.

"Here is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings,
Which, in a set hand, fairly is ingrossed;
That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's."

Shakspeare's Richard the Third.

It was at Paul's Cross that in the beginning of the Reformation the Rood of Grace, whose eyes and lips were moved with wires, was exposed to the view of the people and destroyed by them. It was a place of general resort, where the citizens met, like the Athenians of old, for the sake of hearing and telling of news. "A man was asked whether he was at the sermon at Paul's Cross? and he answered that he was there; and being asked what news there? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news." And it was sometimes a subject of complaint, that the people

walked up and down in the sermon-time, and that there was such buzzing and huzzing in the preacher's ear, that it made him oft to forget his matter.

Page 64. *Martin Mar-Prelate.*

In 1588 many libels were published against the bishops. They were principally written by a society of men, assuming the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate." They appeared under various titles, as "Diotrephes;" "the Minerals;" "The Epistle to the Confocation House;" "Have ye any Work for a Cooper?" in answer to what Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, had written in vindication of the bishops and church of England; "More Work for a Cooper," &c. &c. The authors of these publications were John Penry, a Welshman, John Udal, and other ministers.

Page 64. *Tom Nash.*

Mr. Thomas Nash, a man of a facetious and sarcastic disposition, was the author of numerous tracts to which he gave quaint names, as "*The Apology of Pierce Penniless*;" or, "*Strange News*," &c. — "*Have with you to Saffron Walden*:" — "*Pappe with a Hatchet*;" alias, "*a Fig for my Godson*;" or, "*Cracke me this Nutt*;" or, "*a Country Cuffe, that is, a sound Box of the Ear for the Idiot Martin to hold his Peace*;" written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog." He wrote with great pleasantry and wit against a set of men, who at that time boldly pretended to prognostications and astronomical predictions.

Page 91. *Procession — perambulation.*

It was among the injunctions given by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, on the abolition of those ceremonies, which attended the Popish processions, "that the parishioners shall once in the year, at the time accustomed, with the curate and the substantial men of the parish, *walke about the parishes* as they were accustomed, and at their returne to the church make their common prayers."

Page 114. *Vice.*

Vice was the fool of the old moralities, with his dagger of lath, a long coat, and a cap with a pair of ass's ears. — (*See Shakspeare's Twelfth Night, Act IV. Sc. iv.*)

Page 116. *Brownists.*

Robert Brown, a person of a good family in Rutlandshire, educated at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, was the founder of a sect of Puritans, who took their name from him. He inveighed with the most bitter acrimony against the Church of England, condemning her government as Antichristian, her sacraments as superstitious, and her whole liturgy as a compound of Paganism and Popery. His own system of religious institution was explained by him in a book entitled "A Treatise of Reformation." He wrote several tracts in support of his opinions, and sustained various persecutions, having been committed at different times to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at broad-day. Before his removal with his followers to Middleburg

in Zealand, he became disgusted with their divisions and disputes; and though, according to Strype, he had gone a farther distance than any of the Puritans did, he renounced his principles of separation, being promoted by his relation, Lord Burghley, to a benefice, that of Achurch in Northamptonshire. He died in a prison, in 1630, in the eightieth year of his age, having been sent thither by a justice of the peace for assaulting a constable, who was executing a warrant against him. — (*Of the Brownists, see Fuller's Church History, B. IX. p. 168.*)

It appears from a passage in Shakspeare that the Brownists were treated as objects of satire: "Policy I hate; I had as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician." — (*Twelfth Night, Act III. Sc. ii.*) "Why now thou art a good knave, worth a hundred Brownists." — (*The Puritan, Act III. Sc. vi.*)

Page 152. *Orator for the University.*

Of the office of Orator, which still continues the most honorable academical employment, Mr. Herbert has given the best description in a letter to a friend. "The Orator's place, that you may understand what it is, is the finest place in the university, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about £30 per annum. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue, for the Orator writes all the university letters, makes all the orations, be it to the king, prince, or whatever comes to the university. To requite these pains, he takes place next the Doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleasure, and

such like gaynesses which will please a young man well."

Page 153. *Basilicon Doron.*

Or "His Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son Henry the Prince," 1599. It has been considered as the best of the King's works, and in the opinion of Lord Bacon is excellently written. "In this book," says Mr. Camden, "is most elegantly portrayed and set forth the pattern of a most excellent, every way accomplished, king. Incredible it is how many men's hearts and affections he won unto him by his correcting of it, and what an expectation of himself he raised amongst all men even to admiration." And Archbishop Spotswood observes, that it is said to have contributed more to facilitate the King's accession to the throne of England, than all the discourses published by other writers in his favor.

It may not be improper here to mention an instance of courtly address noticed by Bishop Hacket in his "Life of Archbishop Williams," p. 175. Having remarked that the King, on opening the Parliament in 1623, feasted the two houses with a *speech, than which nothing could be apter for the subject, or more eloquent for the matter*; he adds, "All the helps of that faculty were extremely perfect in him, abounding in wit by nature, in art by education, in wisdom by experience. Mr. George Herbert, being Prælector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge, Anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which

he analysed, showed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style *utterly unknown to the ancients*, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was ; in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hirelings, and triobuluary rhetoricians."

Page 183. *Lent his shoulder, &c.*

"When the good Dr. Hammond was buried without ostentation or pomp, several of the gentry and clergy of the country, and affectionate multitudes of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves *to bear him on their shoulders*, which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive." In the earlier ages of the church, this custom, derived from the Jews, was religiously observed. Persons designed for the office of bearing the dead upon their shoulders were called *νεκιδάται*. But sometimes the friends of the deceased parties would carry the body themselves. Thus St. Basil was carried by the hands of holy men — *χειρὶς ἁγίων ἐφορούμενος*. And St. Jerom tells us, that Paula was borne to the grave by bishops — *cervicem feretro sub-jicientibus*.

Page 211. *Religion stands a tiptoe, &c.*

The whole passage is as follows :

"Religion stands on tiptoe on our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.

When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
 Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
 The marks of future bane, shall fill our cup
 Unto the brim, and make our measure up ;
 When Seine shall swallow Tiber ; and the Thames,
 By letting in them both, pollutes her streams ;
 When Italy of us shall have her will,
 And all her calendars of sins fulfill,
 Whereby one may foretell what sins, next year,
 Shall both in France and England domineer ;
 Then shall Religion to America flee :
 They have their times of gospel ev'n as we."

(*Mr. Herbert's Church Militant.*)

Page 216. *All must to their cold graves, &c.*

These lines were probably quoted from a little poem entitled "Death's Final Conquest." It was originally intended for a solemn dirge, in a play composed by James Shirley, a dramatic writer, who flourished in the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and who died in 1666. It was a favorite song with Charles the Second ; and Oliver Cromwell is said, on the recital of it, to have been seized with great terror and agitation of mind. The following is the third and concluding stanza :

"The garlands wither on your brow ;
 Then boast no more your mighty deeds :
 Upon death's purple altar now
 See where the victor victim bleeds.
 All heads must come
 To the cold tomb ;
 Only the actions of the just
 Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

Page 225. *These little tracts annexed.*

In the first edition of Mr. Walton's *Life of Dr. Sanderson*, printed in octavo, 1678, were added the following tracts. 1. "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers." 2. "Pax Ecclesiæ." 3. "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment in one view for the Settlement of the Church." 4. "Reasons of the Present Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenants," &c. And also a Sermon of Richard Hooker, upon Prayer, from *Matt.* vii. 7. found in the study of Bishop Andrews.

Page 277. *The Quinquarticular Controversy.*

It is scarce necessary to observe, that the Calvinists and Arminians differed in opinion on 1. The eternal decrees. 2. Free-will. 3. Grace and conversion. 4. The extent of Christ's redemption and universal grace. And, 5. The perseverance of the saints. — On these subjects are several letters written by Dr. Sanderson to Dr. Hammond, and printed in the works of the latter. The angelic Dr. Henry More has, in a letter to a foreigner, expressed his wish, that the quinquarticular points were all reduced to this one, "That none shall be saved without sincere obedience."

Page 295. *Dr. Sanderson's sermons.*

If we had not the most convincing proofs of the indefatigable diligence, with which the divines of the two last centuries applied themselves to study, it would be difficult to suppose that they could find time

to collect the vast mass of matter, that forms the substance of their works. And to digest that matter seems to require a man's whole life. In extent of erudition, Dr. Sanderson was surpassed by none of his contemporaries. He is clear and perspicuous in his argumentation, easy and natural in his language. But his far-fetched introductions, his tedious repetitions of division and subdivision, are disgusting. In compliance with the prevailing mode of the times, he introduces Latin quotations, even when he preaches to the common people; herein unlike to Dr. Edward Pocock, who was described by one of his country parishioners, as "a plain honest man, but no Latin-er." In his discourses, we meet with the most comprehensive and the most accurate knowledge of classic antiquity. Thoroughly conversant in the best writings of Greece and Rome, he illustrates his own sentiments by the most apposite applications from those treasures of learning.

Page 296. *The study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, &c.*

Thus did this good man innocently employ the hours of his relaxation from severer studies. Animated by this bright example, let the clergy be induced occasionally to extend their inquiries to other matters besides divinity. Dr. Sanderson observed it "very requisite that ministers should have a competent skill in history, mathematics, law, and physick, to entertain the ingenious and to advise the ignorant, who expect the priest's lips should preserve all knowledge, and that the people should receive it from their mouths."

Page 297. *Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate.*

"Dr. Sanderson had at that time a wife and children, *was reduced to great poverty, and, in the year 1658, was in a very pitiful condition.* But, living to the restoration, he was reinstated in his professorship and canonry in August, 1660, and in October the same year consecrated to the bishopric of Lincoln, the palace of which, at Buckden, he repaired; and, as fines came in, augmented several poor vicarages, notwithstanding he was old and had a family; which when his friends suggested to him, he made them this return, "that he left them to God, and hoped he should be able to give them a competency;" though whether he did or not I am not informed; only the contrary seems probable, because he enjoyed the bishopric but a very little time. — (*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.*)

The following incident, which is said to be well authenticated, proves the indigence to which Dr. Sanderson was reduced at one time, as well as the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him. Having been pillaged by soldiers, and left destitute, he sent his old servant, as he was wont in better times, to Grantham, to purchase provisions, telling him, that though he could not supply him with money, he doubted not but that God would provide for his family. A company of gentlemen, seeing the servant loitering in the market, reproved his idleness. The servant related his master's great distress, and the errand upon which he was sent. The good doctor's wants were cheerfully and liberally

supplied by the company, and the servant was dismissed, loaded with provisions.

Page 298. *Letter written by Dr. Barlow.*

This letter is inserted in the Life of Walton, prefixed to the first volume of this edition, page xxii.

Page 310. *Dr. Sanderson chosen bishop.*

"He was made Bishop, with the universal vote of all good men, in 1660, as who expected his prudence, counsel, equanimity, and moderation, equal with his other abilities, might allay animosities, close differences, heal men's distempers, and work a right understanding; all men imagining his gravity might awe, his goodness oblige, his moderation temper, his reason persuade, and his approved sincerity prevail upon all men otherwise minded; for he was not only a man of much learning and reading, but of a mature understanding, and a mellow judgment, in all matters politic and prudential, both ecclesiastical and civil." (*Reason and Judgment*, p. 39.) "He had this advantage of other men, that, when he entered upon that employment which lay open to the malice and envy of so many, his life was so spotless, his integrity so eminent, that partiality itself could not accuse him: he being a man of solid worth, in whom was nothing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconstant, nothing formal or affected, nothing as to his public carriage that was suspected, nothing that needed palliation or apology. I never heard of any thing said or done by him, which a wise and good man would have wished not said or undone." — (*Ib.* p. 40.)

Page 309. *The books he read were well chosen.*

Luther advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books oftentimes over and again; for to read many sorts of books produceth more and rather confusion, than to learn thereout any thing certainly or perfectly, like as those that dwell every where and remain certainly in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are any where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of some few selected, even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar unto us, that is to have them, as we use to say, at our finger's ends. — (*Luther's Table Talk*, p. 507.) “Nihil æque sanitatem impedit, quam remedium crebra mutatio. Distrahit animum librorum multitudo. Itaque cum legere non possis quantum habueris, sat est habere quantum legas. Sed modo, inquis, hunc librum evolvere, modo illum. Fastidientis stomachi multa degustare; quæ, ubi varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt. Probatos itaque sempe lege; et si quando ad alios divertere libuerit, ad priores redi.” — (*Seneca Epistola II.*)

THE END.



